

BRYAN SHIFTS FROM CLARK TO WILSON

Will Switch Again, He Declares, if "Mr. Murphy" and "the Ryan-Belmont-Morgan Crowd" Vote for Wilson.

DENOUNCES THE NEW YORK BOSS

State's Vote Under Unit Rule, He Asserts, Represents Only Murphy's Will, Not Intelligence, Virtue or Patriotism of Delegates—Uproar in Convention.

Baltimore, June 29.—In explaining a change of vote in the Nebraska delegation, William J. Bryan interrupted the fourteenth ballot in the Democratic National Convention to-day and again threw the delegates and spectators into a disorderly uproar.

Bryan, who, under primary instructions, had been voting for Champ Clark, announced that he would not vote for him again while New York was in the Clark column. He changed his vote to Woodrow Wilson, but defiantly declared he would change again if "Mr. Murphy" and "the Ryan-Belmont-Morgan" crowd should vote for Wilson.

Bryan was assailed from the floor by many delegates, who demanded that his speech be stopped, and by others who wanted to know if he would support the nominee. Bryan said he "expected" to do so, but he also expected the convention to nominate a man without the support "of the interests."

Bryan was pale and haggard as he stood on the platform, facing the tumult he had created on the floor below him. He swayed back and forth, and from time to time mopped the dripping perspiration from his brow. With one hand he held the iron railing in front of him and with the other nervously wielded a big palm leaf fan. When he spoke he had a defiant glare in his eyes. His voice was husky. Occasionally he would let go his hold of the railing to shake a warning finger at the delegates. He held the stage for nearly an hour.

Bryan Explains His Vote.

Mr. Bryan arose from his seat and stood on a chair in the Nebraska delegation.

"Mr. Chairman," he said, "I ask permission to explain my vote."

There were cries of "Vote! vote!" from all over the room, and applause.

"For what purpose does the gentleman arise?" asked the chairman.

Mr. Bryan answered, "To explain my vote."

There were cries of "No! no!" intermingled with "Yes! yes!" and hisses and applause.

"You cannot explain your vote on the calling of the roll. How does the gentleman vote?" answered the chair.

"As long as Mr. Ryan's agent"—began Mr. Bryan, but the hisses and applause and cries of "Vote! vote!" stopped him.

"The gentleman is out of order," announced the chair, and there were cries of "Good! good!" from the New York delegation and other parts of the hall.

"As long as New York's ninety votes (cries of "No! no!") are recorded for Mr. Clark, I withhold my vote from him and cast it!"

But for whom he was to cast it could not be ascertained, for at once his voice was drowned in the confusion and noise.

Senator Stone, of Missouri, at last got recognition from the chair, while they were trying in every way possible to quiet the delegates.

"I pray every delegate on the floor and every lady and gentleman in the gallery to hear the distinguished delegate," called out Senator Stone.

"Hear this delegate from Nebraska, and I ask unanimous consent that he be allowed to speak."

The chair said that the gentleman from Missouri asked unanimous consent and declared the motion carried.

Bryan Gets Hearing on Platform.

Mr. Bryan then proceeded to the platform amid cheers and hisses. When he could make himself heard he said:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: I am explaining my vote only because my advice was not followed in my own delegation (applause and hoots). I advised that those of us who are instructed for Mr. Clark should continue to vote for him until conditions arose that justified us in doing otherwise. I did not believe that the conditions had arisen, but not all of the delegation agreed with me, and then I was desirous that a poll should not be required, but if we are to have a division, if a poll is demanded and each man must give a reason for a vote that he casts, I am now ready to cast my vote and to give my reasons for so doing. (Great applause.)

"I have asked the privilege of making an explanation because I am not alone in this convention. I do not represent a one-man opinion. Many of these delegates look at this question as I do, and when I speak for myself I speak for some others in this hall, and I am sure for a still larger number outside of this hall. (Great applause.) I recognize, therefore, the responsibility that rests upon me when I do what I intend to do, and I give the explanation that I now propose to give.

"I expected that this necessity would arise some time during the day, but did not expect it to arise so early an hour, and in anticipation I wrote out what I desire to submit. It would only take me a moment to read it, and I prefer that there shall be no mistake in the transcribing and reporting of it.

A delegate—"Mr. Bryan!"

The Chair—"There is nothing in order. The gentleman is explaining his vote. The gentleman must be seated."

A delegate then moved that the secretary read the paper, but his motion was not entertained by the chair.

Nebraska Against Reactionary.

Mr. Bryan then read the following:

"Nebraska is a Progressive state. Only twice has she given her vote for a Democratic candidate for President, in 1896 and in 1908, and on both occasions her vote was cast for a Progressive platform. Between these two elections, in the election of 1904, she gave a Republican plu-

rality of 85,000 against a Democratic reactionary.

"In the recent primary the total vote cast for Clark and Wilson was more than thirty-four thousand and the vote cast for Harmon something more than twelve thousand, showing that the party is now more than three-fourths Progressive, or about three-fourths Progressive. The Republican party in Nebraska is Progressive in about the same proportion.

"And the situation in Nebraska is not materially different from the situation throughout the country west of the Alleghenies. In the recent Republican primaries fully two-thirds of the Republican vote was cast for candidates representing Progressive policies. In this convention the Progressive sentiment is overwhelming.

"Every candidate has proclaimed himself a Progressive—no candidate would have any considerable following in this convention if he admitted himself out of harmony with Progressive ideas. By your resolution adopted night before last you, by a vote of more than four to one, pledged the country that you would nominate for the Presidency no man who represented or was obligated to represent the privilege-seeking, favor-hunting class.

"This pledge, if kept, will have more influence on the result of the election than the platform or the name of the candidate. How can that pledge be made effective? There is but one way—namely, to nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to those whom these influences directly or indirectly control.

Represents Only Murphy's Will.

"The vote of the State of New York in this convention, as cast under the unit rule, does not represent the intelligence, the virtue, the democracy or the patriotism of the ninety men who are here. It represents the will of one man—Charles F. Murphy (hisses and great applause), and he represents the influences that dominated the Republican convention at Chicago and are trying to dominate this convention. (Great applause.)

"If we nominate a candidate under conditions that enable these influences to say to our candidate, 'Remember now thy creator' (hisses and applause), we cannot hope to appeal to the confidence of the Progressive Democrats and Republicans of the nation.

"Nebraska, or that portion of the delegation for which I am authorized to speak, is not willing to participate in the nomination of any man who is willing to violate the resolution adopted by this convention and accept the high honor of the Presidential nomination at the hands of Mr. Murphy. (Great applause.)

"When we were instructed for Mr. Clark the Democratic voters who instructed us did so with the distinct understanding that Mr. Clark stood for Progressive Democracy. (Applause.) Mr. Clark's representatives appealed for support on no other ground. They contended that Mr. Clark was more progressive than Mr. Wilson, and indignantly denied that there was any cooperation between Mr. Clark and the reactionary element of the party. Upon no other condition could Mr. Clark have received a plurality of the Democratic vote of Nebraska.

"The thirteen delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions given in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions which they were given (great applause), but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man—I cannot say for how many I can speak, for I have not had a chance to take a poll—but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation.

"Speaking for myself and for any of the delegates who may decide to join me, I withhold my vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him. (Great applause and hisses.) And the position that I take in regard to New York I will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now or may be before the convention.

"I shall not be a party to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be or from what section of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution and make his administration reflect the wishes and the hopes of those who believe in a government of the people by the people and for the people. (Great applause.)

"If we nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to these interests which speak through Mr. Murphy I shall offer a resolution authorizing and directing the Presidential committee to select a campaign committee to manage the campaign, in order that he may not be compelled to suffer the humiliation and act under the embarrassment that I have in having men participate in the management of his campaign who had no sympathy with the party's aims and in whose Democracy the general public has no confidence.

"Now, having explained the position taken by myself and those of the delegation who view the subject from the same standpoint, I now announce my vote."

Governor McCorkle of West Virginia then asked the chair's permission to ask Mr. Bryan a question.

Mr. Bryan said: "I am perfectly willing if the chair consents."

Permission was given.

Mr. McCorkle said: "I wish to ask the categorical question whether Mr. Bryan intends to be understood that he will not support the nominee of this convention if he is voted for and nominated by the present vote of the State of New York in this convention."

Mr. Bryan: "I shall be glad to answer the question of the gentleman from West Virginia, and before answering it I shall be glad to add that if any other gentleman in this convention has any question on his mind that he would like

to get rid of I will remain here and give him a chance to ask it. (Applause.) This is a Democratic convention, and we have a right to ask questions of each other and we ought to be frank with each other."

Cries from delegates, "Are you a Democrat?" brought forth scattering calls of "No." Continuing Mr. Bryan said:

"My Democracy has been certified to by six and a half millions of Democrats, but I will ask the secretary to enter on the record one dissenting vote if the gentleman will give me his name. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

"Some gentleman asked me if I was a Democrat, and I would like to have his name, that I may put it by the side of Ryan and Belmont, who were not Democrats when I was a candidate for the Presidency.

"Now, let me answer the question of the gentleman from West Virginia. Nothing that I said this morning and nothing that I have ever said justifies the construction that the gentleman would place upon my language. I distinguish between refusing to be a party to the nomination of a candidate and refusing to support him after he has been nominated over my opposition. (Jeering and applause.)

"Just as the law distinguishes between the lawyer who defends a criminal after the crime has been committed and the lawyer who conspires with a man to commit a crime. (Loud applause.) Is there any other question? If not I shall announce my vote."

Governor Brewer of Mississippi said:

"Mr. Bryan, I have a question. If Mr. Clark, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wilson or Mr. Harmon, Mr. Kern or Governor Foss is nominated by this convention by a two-thirds majority, with New York voting for the man who is nominated, will you support the Democratic nominee?" (Cries of "Answer" and applause.)

Mr. Bryan: "I deny the right of any man to put a hypothetical question to me!"

Jeers and Yells Greet Bryan.

Mr. Bryan was interrupted by jeers and yelling. A delegate raised the point of order that Mr. Bryan had the floor to explain his vote and that the questions and answers were out of order. Chairman Sulzer ruled that the point of order was well taken.

Mr. Bryan continued: "Allow me to complete the sentence. The question was asked and I have a right to answer it. Let me conclude my sentence."

There were cries of "Answer yes or no."

Governor Brewer said: "Answer yes or no and then explain."

Mr. Bryan continued: "I said I deny his right to ask a hypothetical question unless he is prepared to put into that question every essential element that is necessary to be understood before it can be answered intelligently. (Applause and jeering.) That I understand, would be a legal proposition."

John D. Knox, of Alabama, said: "Mr. Chairman, haven't we anything to do in this convention except to listen to Mr. Bryan's speech? The unanimous consent of this convention was never given, and the gentleman is speaking by an arbitrary ruling of the chair and he is speaking out of order."

Mr. Bryan: "I have no expectation that any nomination in this convention will be secured in any way or under any condition that will prevent my acting."

Mr. Knox made a point of order, saying: "There is no delegate who has a right to abuse his privilege to attack a candidate before this convention and to attack a sovereign state."

Mr. Bryan then spoke, saying: "Having denied the right of the gentleman to ask the question, and having declared that he has taken advantage of a Democratic convention to ask a question that he would not have dared to ask in any court of justice, I will now answer his question. (Applause, yells and jeering.)

"I expect to support the nominee of this convention. (Applause.) I do not expect any one to be nominated here who will not deserve the support of the Democratic party. I do not expect any one to be nominated who would permit a partnership between Morgan, Ryan, Belmont and himself. (Applause.) But

BRYAN'S LAST APPEAL TO THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION.



William Jennings Bryan yesterday afternoon tried in vain to stampede the convention. He took the platform to explain his vote. He was pale and haggard as he stood facing the tumult he had created on the floor below him. He swayed back and forth and from time to time mopped the dripping perspiration from his furrowed brow. With one hand he held the iron railing in front of him. There was a defiant glare in his eyes. His voice was husky. Occasionally he would let go his hold of the railing to shake a warning finger at the delegates. Bryan held the stage for nearly an hour. The antagonism against him was intense. The net result of Bryan's move was a gain of nine Nebraska votes for Wilson.

I do not consider myself under obligations to give bond to answer the question categorically until the conditions arise when I can know what I am answering.

"Now, I am prepared to announce my vote, unless again interrupted. With the understanding that I shall stand ready to withdraw my vote from the one for whom I am going to cast it when ever New York casts her vote for him I cast my vote for Nebraska's second choice, Governor Wilson."

Mr. Bryan's announcement was received with prolonged cheering and applause, after which Senator Stone, of Missouri, was recognized by the chair.

Senator Stone said: "So far as Speaker Clark is concerned I have just this one sentence to utter. I pledge his great record as a Democrat and the splendid service rendered his party for more than a quarter of a century, and no part of it was more conspicuous than that during the campaigns of William J. Bryan. (Applause.) I move now, Mr. Chairman, that we proceed with the roll call."

The debate closed and the roll of the Nebraska delegation proceeded.

NEW YORK DELEGATES ANGRY OVER BRYAN'S BITTER ATTACK

They Are "With" Murphy in His Fight to Eliminate the Nebraskan, But Some of Them Also Criticise the "Boss" for Letting the Anti-Ryan-Belmont Resolution Go Through.

[By a Staff Correspondent of The Tribune.]

Baltimore, June 29.—So far as the New York delegation is concerned—ninety votes which Charles F. Murphy carries around in his vest pocket—it has been a fight to the death against William Jennings Bryan and those who are backing him in his fight against Murphy. Whatever the Tammany boss, who controls the New York State organization, has done or may do, will be for the purpose of eliminating Mr. Bryan from any further influence in the national Democratic organization, if that may be possible.

The declaration of Mr. Bryan yesterday that no man could afford to accept a nomination at the hands of Murphy, followed to-day by the statement of the Nebraska statesman in the convention that he would withdraw his support from any candidate who might have the backing of Murphy, has created the most bitter feeling against Mr. Bryan. The New Yorkers declare he is bent on wrecking the Democratic party.

The general feeling was expressed in a colloquy between two of the New York leaders this morning.

"What can Bryan hope to accomplish? We have got the votes to beat any candidate whom he may try to nominate," said one.

"Well," was the reply of the other, "he can follow the advice of David R. Hill, who once told me, 'When you don't know what to do in any particular situation, you can go on the general principle of raising hell.'"

Criticise Murphy, Too.

Although they are all accused at the attacks of Bryan on the New York delegation as a whole, some of them are also inclined to be critical of the tactics of Murphy in permitting Bryan to get away with his resolution putting the convention on record against the nomination of any man who might be considered to be under the domination of Ryan, Morgan or Belmont.

It was a critical situation and Murphy and his advisers decided that the stink of the resolution would be taken out if they turned in and voted for it. The result has been, however, that many of the delegates from other states have gained the impression that the entire delegation from New York, voting as it does, under the unit rule on the orders of Murphy, is affected with the Wall Street taint.

The New York men writhed in the convention this afternoon under the lash of Bryan, who declared that the vote of New York, as cast under the unit rule, did not represent the virtue, intelligence or patriotism of the Democrats in that state.

Cries of "Knicker" came from the direction of New York's seats when Bryan was delivering his scathing denunciation. Many of the delegates insisted that some adequate reply be made to the Nebraskan. Judge Alton B. Parker advised against it.

"The best way to treat this man is to ignore his remarks," said the judge. "That is the course I have pursued. He has been attacking me every few weeks for some time, but I have not replied, nor will I so long as the attack is general and not specific. Of course, if he should accuse me of sticking a knife in the back of some particular individual, then I should call him to task."

"Of course, our men are restive under this abuse," said Judge Parker, later, to a Tribune correspondent. "They don't think it fair that they should be obliged to sit silent while they are being maligned. There

may come a time, however, when it will be considered wise to defend ourselves."

Murphy's Deal with Clark Men.

The first compact that Murphy made last night with the managers for Champ Clark was that his ninety votes should go to the speaker for at least three ballots, and after that, if Clark were not nominated, Murphy reserved the right to go to some other man. The Murphy programme was to try Underwood in case Clark should not be nominated, at least on the twelfth ballot. That was the last ballot taken before the convention adjourned this morning.

That ballot had shown that Bryan's influence had been thrown against Clark, evidently on account of the support of New York.

The Clark managers appealed to Murphy to continue with Clark. In order that this point might be considered properly the conservatives were able to force an adjournment. From the convention hall Murphy went to the Maryland Club with ex-Senators Pettigrew and Dubois, managers of the Clark boom. There the question was thoroughly thrashed out, but not settled. An attempt was made by them to secure the support of Tom Taggart, but he refused to leave Marshall.

Murphy said he would give an answer on the Clark proposition in the morning. In the course of the night he was called up by telephone from New York by a close friend of Mayor Gaynor, who is on terms of intimacy with the Tammany boss. This man suggested that it was the psychological time to trot out Mayor Gaynor as one who all along has been a "dark horse" candidate.

Getting up at 8 o'clock, Murphy sent for several of his Tammany leaders, and they talked over the situation. He decided that if any move toward Gaynor was to be made the time had not arrived. Murphy did not leave his room until he started for the convention hall at 1 o'clock. However, he talked with Rogers Sullivan and Taggart over the telephone.

Finally, the Tammany chief told the Clark managers that he would stick to Clark for the present, at least. It was a surprise to most persons, however, when the ninety votes from New York were cast for Clark again on the thirteenth ballot, the first after the convention reconvened this afternoon. It had been generally understood that New York would try Underwood, having failed in putting Clark over.

Mr. Bankhead, of Alabama, the Underwood manager, visited Murphy in his apartments at the Emerson to see whether the New York man was going to carry out his programme for Underwood. He was angry when told that New York intended to stick to Clark, for a time, at least.

Murphy Taciturn, as Usual.

Murphy was smiling, but taciturn, as he started for the convention hall.

"Are you going to stick to Clark?" he was asked.

"Yes."

"How about the story that you were going to Underwood on the first ballot to-day?"

"I cannot be held responsible for all the rumors you hear."

One of the Tammany men declared that Murphy was angry because the plans for the nomination of Clark had not gone through. "The chief was told," this man said, "that if New York came out for Clark he would get the support of the Underwood and the Harmon leaders, and

could also count on the thirty votes of Indiana, which were controlled by Taggart. Every one of them went back on the Clark people."

After Taggart had had a talk with Murphy, just before the convention, he declared: "We may be here until Tuesday."

This was taken to mean that hope of an agreement between the conservative leaders, for some time at least, was slender.

It was said that Taggart had become possessed with the idea that Kern might be nominated and was standing pat on that theory.

Members of the cabinet of Mayor Gaynor and other managers of the Gaynor boom were saying nothing to-day, but they were mighty active. It was said they had received a rebuke from the Mayor for the public way in which they had been pushing his interests here. He told them to work under cover and to say nothing, according to report.

Ideas of Gaynor Men.

It was asserted that the Gaynor managers were convinced that Murphy was favorable to Gaynor and would be willing to support him, in case there was any assurance that he could get enough support from other parts of the country to secure the nomination. Murphy was convinced, however, that it would do no good for Gaynor to be proposed by the New York delegation, as that would entail the immediate opposition of Bryan.

"We don't want to have this man Bryan make fools of us any longer," was the way one of the leaders expressed it.

Careful inquiries made to determine just how much support Gaynor might get from other states, also to see whether it would not be possible to have him placed in nomination by some Southern or Western state, have brought results not very encouraging.

All day the Gaynor men have been banking on the possibility that the deadlock between Clark and Wilson could be broken by neither, making it absolutely necessary to find a compromise candidate.

The New York delegation was the centre of attraction during the long hours of balloting to-day. When Bryan was rubbing salt into their skins with a wire brush all eyes were turned toward the New York standard. They wondered what reply would be made. Friends of New York in various parts of the hall hissed and booed Bryan as he denounced them. On the other hand, every time Murphy got up to cast the solid ninety votes there were hisses and derisive laughter from the friends of Bryan.

Because the chairman of the national committee, Norman E. Mack, is a New Yorker, the New York delegation has a private conference room, a privilege enjoyed by no other delegation.

Murphy spent most of his time during the sessions to-day in this room at the back of the hall. He went to his seat on the floor only when it was necessary to declare the vote of the state. This task Mr. Murphy has been careful never to trust to any other man. In the committee room Murphy conferred with Judge Parker, William F. Sheehan and other members of his cabinet and leaders from other states. The door was always doubly guarded to see that no stranger wandered in.

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